



Communications Program
India Project
B/57-1

1957

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE UNIVERSITY EDUCATED:
A PILOT INQUIRY IN INDIA

D. N. Majumdar
with the assistance of
S. K. Anand



CSL-AS -54(P)
AS005303
331.138 MAJ-U

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CAMBRIDGE MASSACHUSETTS

CSL-AS
AS00530
331.138 M

22
Un employment
university education
AS005303



UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE UNIVERSITY EDUCATED:
A PILOT INQUIRY IN INDIA

D. N. Majumdar
with the assistance of
S. K. Anand



54(9)
CSL-AS
AS005303

331.138 MAJ-U

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS



CENTRAL SECRETARIAT LIBRARY



सत्यमेव जयते

Govt. of India

ss No. 351.10/254

CSL



CSL

AS-005303

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE UNIVERSITY EDUCATED:
A PILOT INQUIRY IN INDIA

D. N. Majumdar

Professor and Head of the Department
of Anthropology, Lucknow University

with the assistance of

S. K. Anand

Research Fellow, Department
of Anthropology, Lucknow University

 REF


Center for International Studies
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts
January 1957



CSL

-54(R)
331.13851
MAJ - U

124 OCT 1962

Copyright 1957 by the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Printed in U.S.A.





P R E F A C E

The senior author of this monograph is a well-known Indian anthropologist. When in 1953 he turned from his primary preoccupation with tribal and village society to look at one of the critical problems in modern India, he did so with an urgency that grew out of a sense of tragedy. A professor in one of the great Indian universities, he saw the talents of promising students being wasted by unemployment and he saw the demoralization and unhappiness that followed.

There are in the cities of India about two-and-a-half-million persons unemployed and seeking work, "almost ten per cent of the employable population in urban India." In Calcutta the unemployed are 18 per cent.* There is also in India large-scale underemployment on the land, but the peasant family with more hands than it needs to till its small plot does not leave any one of them in a position of total unemployment. Unemployment is found primarily in the cities and there it is far more widespread among would-be white-collar workers than among laborers. Unemployment in India is predominantly a middle-class phenomenon. It is, therefore, a problem of the educated, for it is education which above all differentiates the middle class in India. In a sense, of course, there is no overproduction of educated specialists in a country whose aspirations for modernity and economic development require a vast proliferation of technicians and specialists in all fields. It is an anomaly that persons trained in business should be unemployed at the same time that more entrepreneurs are sorely needed, that engineers should be jobless in the presence of vast plans for dams and roads. It is the same anomaly which America faced during the depression, the anomaly of surpluses in the midst of shortages, and it is not an anomaly that is easily overcome. Economic development requires many things all at once. Where bottlenecks in some of these resources exist, others will stand idle. That is the status of a considerable number of India's educated youths. While they are a resource the country needs, there is no immediate current use for some of them in the places where they choose to live and in the jobs they choose to hold.

The Indian government is well aware of these problems. One of the overriding goals of the Second Five Year Plan is to create about nine million new jobs to absorb the growing number of unemployed. It is an ambitious goal. It is a goal which will require some redistribution of employment. Teachers are needed in the Indian villages, for example,

*Wilfred Malenbaum, Unemployment in Urban India, Center for International Studies, M.I.T., document C/56-16, June 1956. Published as "Unemployment in Urban Areas," The Economic Weekly, September 8, 1956, pp. 1073-1076.

while would-be teachers are unemployed in the big cities. It is easy to appreciate why an educated Indian youth does resist living in a village with no road and no other educated person to whom he can talk. Yet, to meet the challenge of the development plan, many are doing exactly that.

Statistics on the extent of unemployment have been recently investigated by other studies; the present study, which proceeded by questionnaires, explores the psychological and social meaning of unemployment to the well educated, and also traces the history of the individual's attempts to seek employment. For over-all statistics, there are two studies to be published by the National Sample Survey. One of these, dealing with cities of over 50,000 population, excluding Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras, should soon appear as No. 8; the other, dealing with Calcutta, possibly as No. 13 of the N.S.S. series. Some of the results and implications of these studies are presented by Wilfred Malenbaum in the above-cited Center document, Unemployment in Urban India.

The N.S.S. study, since it deals with a cross section of the population, reports only a very small group of persons at the educational level here discussed, i.e., persons with a Master's degree. The N.S.S. study, however, gives us a picture of the situation for those educated at the more common lower levels. We find that unemployment among those with some education is considerably higher than unemployment among the illiterates. Among the illiterates the proportion unemployed is less than half of what is their proportion among the urban population as a whole. We also learn that those with some education come to register at the Unemployment Exchanges considerably more often than the uneducated, since the uneducated are apt to be ignorant of the procedure. On the other hand, lack of faith in what the Employment Exchanges can do in obtaining for the registrant the kind of job he wants is more prevalent among the educated unemployed. This lack of confidence is even more marked in the stratum studies by Professor Majumdar.

The N.S.S. survey tells us that the number of persons only partially employed was more than three times as great as the number actually employed. That helps explain some of Mr. Majumdar's findings concerning the large number of non-self-supporting employed persons among the University graduates he studied.

Professor Majumdar and Mr. Anand have explored in their inquiry who are the unemployed among the recipients of Master degrees of the University of Lucknow, how are they living, what are their attitudes towards society and towards the taking of alternative jobs instead of those they would prefer. Professor Majumdar deals with the problem with a full sense of its poignancy, but at the same time objectively compiling the much-needed data.

At first glance one may wonder why a study of the problem of unemployment among India's educated youth was accepted for inclusion in a research program in international communication. It is far from irrelevant, however. In a country like India a relatively small educated stratum is the major channel of communication between the Indian people as a whole and the outside world. The same educated group is the major milieu of communication on many domestic issues, too. It is among the university educated that the mass media find both their personnel and a disproportionally large portion of their consumers. It is these people, in turn, who provide much of the face-to-face opinion leadership for others in the country. If the educated are unemployed and without hope their feelings and needs will soon color the self-perception of the whole society.

Ithiel de Sola Pool

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
I. SCOPE AND METHOD OF INQUIRY	5
II. A NOTE ON RESPONSE	9
III. RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY	13

INTRODUCTION

Ideas That Gave Rise to the Investigation

The problem of unemployment among the educated, which is part of the wider problem of general unemployment, is not very new in India. Reference to it is found as far back as the Bengal Unemployment Enquiry Committee Report (1924). Its dangers have been the pointed focus of emphasis by practically all the committees and commissions that have sought to look into the problem of unemployment--and the number of such high-level inquiries in India during the last quarter of a century is well over a dozen. World War II provided a temporary cushion, but victory on the war front caused a setback on the employment front.

Unemployment is a curse, a tragedy, a challenge to society. In a welfare state, the social loss resulting therefrom is an intolerable enervation of society's vital lifeblood. The continued presence and increase in number of the large body of the educated unemployed is clearly opposed to the Indian national objective of the socialistic pattern of society and reflects the inadequacy and failure of the social setup to pull itself up. Sociologically speaking, it is a challenge to the society from within. On the community's ability to solve it properly depends its own progress; nay, in the second half of the twentieth century, the very survival of the democratic way of life and preservation of the parliamentary form of government may depend upon the proper absorption and utilization of its manpower. An important economic criterion of successful state policy is full utilization of human resources.

Politically, the educated unemployed could be a very serious potential danger. Their heads are full of the consciousness that their sad plight and misery are due to causes entirely social in nature. The twentieth century young man no longer ascribes his poor lot to divine displeasure, nor does he relate it to his personal misfortune. Having completed his education, he asks for a job, and demands it as his right. It is, he says, society's business to provide him with one suited to his qualifications. And he finds social philosophies that corroborate his claim.

Without a guarantee of the right to work, democracy is devoid of its essential economic nucleus. Hence, there is a clear shift of stress today from a vague concept of democracy to that of a planned social order the essential core of which is full utilization of human resources.

The Immediate Impulse of the Survey

Though nonjusticiable in nature, the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution of India give the Indian citizen the right to work and an adequate means of livelihood, making it incumbent upon the State to keep this broad directive in mind in its day-to-day policies. Although solution of the unemployment problem was not a specific objective of India's First Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission has found much to its dismay that, notwithstanding its execution of development programs, the number of persons registered with the Employment Exchanges has continued to rise. The mounting serious situation compelled the Planning Commission to focus its attention on this aspect of the economy, and, accordingly, among its four major decisions taken on the 15th of July 1953 was the undertaking of preliminary surveys of unemployment in urban areas. In particular, it was decided to undertake sample surveys in Calcutta, Delhi, and Travancore-Cochin to find out the nature of the problem of unemployment and to study its trend. Exact statistics have not been available, but that the situation has continued to deteriorate is proved by the fact that in October 1953 the Planning Commission had to set forth an additional outlay of Rs.185 crores for the creation of employment opportunities in the country. Fast-growing realization of the problem is reflected in the fact that the Draft Plan-frame, prepared by the advisory panel of economists to the Planning Commission and approved by the National Development Council, starts with the tackling of unemployment as one of the main objectives of the Second Five Year Plan. The question of employment pattern has gained precedence over that of finance.

A Personal Plea--But Social in Relevance

Behind the statistical figures and tabulated correlations of the educated unemployed lies the misery of at least two generations. The utter despair of lakhs and lakhs of parents who saved and slaved a lifetime to give their children an education, only to see them in the end unemployed, very often broken in body and spirit; the impotent wrath and the slow, sinking demoralization of promising young men, loaded with certificates and degrees, to whom society seems to be denying an opportunity to put to any use their gifts and their knowledge--such are the conditions today. Left unattended, these young men and women are excellent material for filling the ranks of those political groups who may only be too ready to smash the existing social structure. Down with the social system, they say, that provides them no place under the sun.

The Local Urgency

To achieve the aim of full utilization of human resources, attention to the fast increasing number of educated unemployed is very important.

Chapter I

SCOPE AND METHOD OF INQUIRY

Object

The object of this survey is to collect data that might throw some light on the nature and extent of unemployment among Lucknow University students.

The Universe of Inquiry

Being of a preliminary nature, the universe of investigation has been deliberately kept restricted. It extends only to those students of Lucknow University who have completed their course for Master's degree in any of the subjects from the Faculties of Arts, Science, Commerce and Law during the last five years, i.e., from 1949 to 1953 inclusive. Students who completed their Master's course in 1954 have been excluded from the sphere of this investigation as it was felt that at the time of deciding its layout (autumn 1954) they had been out of the University for too short a period to warrant being classed together, for the purpose of this study, with students who had finished their postgraduate course from one to five years earlier.

The subjects of investigation include students who have during the last five years done their M.A. in any of these subjects: English, Ancient Indian History, Modern Indian History, European History, Political Science, Economics and Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology and Philosophy, Education, Hindi, Sanskrit, Urdu, Persian, Arabic, Mathematics; M.Sc. in any of these subjects: Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Geology, M. Com. and L.L.M. The entire universe of inquiry consists of 2,513 students: Males, 2,228; Females, 285.

UNIVERSE OF INQUIRY

Year	<u>Arts</u>		<u>Science</u>		<u>Commerce</u>		<u>Law</u>	<u>Education</u>		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	
1949	264	34	52	4	64	-	1	0	0	419
1950	255	43	72	5	46	-	2	0	0	423
1951	338	51	109	0	93	-	1	16	4	613
1952	253	56	110	5	72	-	1	13	6	515
1953	273	70	118	3	65	-	3	8	3	543
Sub-total	1,383	254	461	17	340	-	8	37	13	
TOTAL	1,637		478		340		8	50		2,513

Design of the Sample Selected

The final sample investigated consists of 903 students, constituting about 36 per cent of the entire universe of inquiry. The sample has been selected by means of stratified random sampling.

The original plan was to draw a 20 per cent sample of the universe of investigation. But preliminary inquiries about the latter revealed that a distinctive trait of this universe was the mobile character of its constituents. In order to safeguard against, and make up for, any possibility of large non-response due to students having shifted from the addresses given in the University records, the sample was widened by another 16 per cent of the original universe of survey, making the total sample 36 per cent of the students completing their postgraduate course during the period 1949 to 1953.

This 36 per cent sample was selected by means of random sampling. To assure better coverage of the whole universe of investigation, the latter was divided into five strata, viz., Arts, Science, Commerce, Law, and Education. Each stratum was further subdivided by sex.

THE SAMPLE SPECTRUM

Five-fold, Stratum-wise, Sex-wise Classification of the Selected Sample

Year	<u>Arts</u>		<u>Science</u>		<u>Commerce</u>		<u>Law</u>		<u>Education</u>		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1949	95	12	18	2	24	-	1	-	-	-	152
1950	91	16	27	2	16	-	1	-	-	-	153
1951	120	18	38	-	34	-	1	-	5	-	216
1952	91	20	39	1	26	-	1	-	5	2	185
1953	99	26	41	2	23	-	2	-	2	2	197
Sub-total	496	92	163	7	123	-	6	-	12	4	
TOTAL	588		170		123		6		16		903

Method

In view of the fact that the universe of investigation, consisting of over two and a half thousand students, was spread all over India, interview methods, used even for a smaller sample, had to be ruled out. Its adoption would have involved expenditure of time, money and energy, which was not warranted by the present preliminary nature of this investigation. Because of the type of the field of inquiry, its widely distributed

Incidence of educated unemployment in Uttar Pradesh is the second highest in India. In 1954, about 92,000 persons were registered at the Employment Exchanges out of which, according to an official report, only about 6,000 were placed. These placements were less than half the number of those who found jobs through the Employment Exchange in 1953. Vacancies for the educated classes have thus been getting fewer. To relieve future unemployment among the educated groups, whether what is needed is some basic reorientation of the educational system, an increase in the investment outlay, a rise in the tempo of development programs, or an alteration in the socio-economic framework, or all of these combined, plus other measures, one point is very clear: concerted attention in this field is called for in the future developmental plans of the country.

Investigations in university towns to gauge the extent and nature of unemployment among the educated men and women could provide a good basis for any action program. It is with this end in view that the present inquiry was taken up. It is felt that to see the real pulse of the problem such investigations should be more than merely statistical in nature. It is their social and qualitative contents that would throw light on the precise nature of the problem. The findings could, it is hoped, be of help to the country's planners in chalking out coordinated policies in the fields of education and development in particular, and various other sectors in general. Unemployment among the educated is essentially symptomatic of lack of social coordination.

Here is a field where social science could be of immediate aid to social policy. Social science could speed up social development and help promote social progress through careful guidance of the social process. Acceptance of over-all planning is but a proof of this thesis. Here is a common field for collaboration between the statesman, the administrator, and the social scientist.

and spread out constituents, their mobile character, as also the preliminary stage of investigation, it was thought that a self-administered questionnaire could better elicit the required information. A number of draft questionnaires were prepared, whose theoretical basis and particular contents were thoroughly discussed in the Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University. At the time we had amidst us, Professor Max Rallis of Cornell University Methodology Research Unit, who gave some useful suggestions about the framing of the questionnaire to maximize response. Before finalizing the questionnaire we also had the benefit of consultations with Professor Ithiel de Sola Pool and his colleagues at M.I.T. Finally, a simple but comprehensive questionnaire was prepared and sent out in February 1955. We had thought of sending three waves of reminders, but seeing the encouraging response the idea was dropped.

Nature of Information Sought

The questionnaire is divided into clusters of questions, each dealing with a particular aspect of the subject of inquiry. Efforts were made to collect some information regarding the students' purpose in having joined the university and the specificity or otherwise of their plans after completing their studies. Information was also sought about the time-lag between completing their studies and getting their first jobs, as also between their first applying for a job and getting it. Some concrete questions about levels of aspiration and expectations give an added point of information about their concept of a job. Questions were incorporated seeking information about the types of jobs students desire, the types of jobs they get; relationship of the latter with their academic qualifications; their views about the prevailing conditions in the job market; impact of these conditions in the job market on their feelings about university education; their attitudes towards manual work, towards teaching in the countryside, and towards rural extension work.

With a view to facilitating comparison with, and easy reference to, other investigations in the field of unemployment, some standard categories like 'employment status,' 'economic status,' 'type of training favoured,' 'industrial status,' 'maintenance during unemployment period,' 'willingness to work,' etc., which have been used by the National Sample Survey, the State Statistical Bureau, West Bengal, and the Census of India, 1951, were adopted for this investigation and incorporated in the questionnaire used for collecting data.

A Few Words about the Technique Applied

We are well aware of the drawbacks of the technique of mailed questionnaire in social research. It is said that those who return questionnaires are apt to be atypical. It has, indeed, been demonstrated by various studies

elsewhere that very often the selective factors involved in mailed samples and their return are apt to be highly significant. However, in the absence of a more plausible technique of investigation for a social universe like that of the present study, geographically so widespread and with all its traits aforementioned, it is worth while making an experiment in the use of the mailed questionnaire. The response to this questionnaire was extraordinarily high--40 per cent. Nevertheless, it would be hazardous to make any precise projection from these 40 per cent to the universe as a whole, either as to the precise extent of unemployment or as to other similar social characteristics. In particular, it should be stressed that the unemployment figures in this study tend to understate the problem rather than to exaggerate. An alumnus in a stable job is more likely to remain at the address in the record and to be reached by a letter than one adrift in search of a job. Furthermore, insofar as personal characteristics enter into success in securing and retaining employment, it is clear that the men who organize their lives better are both more likely to be employed, and also more likely to answer the mail questionnaire. The dismal unemployment figure that stands out from this study is, therefore, stated in the most moderate of terms. Reality is certainly no better than our data would suggest and perhaps somewhat worse.

In view of the problems of estimating the universe from questionnaire responses, the central interest in this study resides not in its over-all estimate of the magnitude of the unemployment problem, but rather in the psychological and sociological aspects of it; for example, in the comparison in attitudes of the employed and unemployed. It is hoped, however, that this will be only the first of a series of studies, and that the representativeness of the findings herein contained can later be established by studies using interview and census techniques, along with further studies of this same sort.

Chapter II

A NOTE ON RESPONSE

As aforementioned, the size of the investigation sample was increased from 20 per cent to 36 per cent of the total population of the universe of inquiry as a precaution against any possibility of large nonresponse. The precaution seems to have been helpful.

Of the 903 subjects constituting the sample, we had a response of about 40 per cent, which is about 14 per cent of the entire population of the universe of inquiry.

General Response Table (R 1)

Class	Total Population of the Universe of Inquiry (a)	Sample (b)	Percentage of Response to:	
			Sample	Total Population of the Universe of Inquiry
1949-1953	2513	903	40	14
1949	419	152	34	12
1950	423	153	37	13
1951	614	216	40	14
1952	515	185	44	16
1953	543	197	41	15

Table R 1 shows that the response from the older batches of students, who left the University earlier, has tended to decline, though not sharply enough to seriously bias the results.

Response by Sex and Field of Study (R 2)

Class	Total Respondents	Males	Females	Arts	Science	Commerce	Law	Education
1949	52	50	2	37	8	7		
1950	56	49	7	45	7	4		
1951	87	86	1	45	20	19		3
1952	82	74	8	44	20	13	1	4
1953	81	71	10	52	20	5	3	1
Total, 1949-1953	358	338	28	223	75	48	4	8

Response Table by Stratum and Sex (R 3)

(Percentage responding of the total population of the universe of inquiry)

Year	Arts		Science		Commerce		Law		Education		TOTAL Response
	M	F	M	F	M		M		M	F	
1949	12	6	15	*	11		*		-	-	11
1950	14	16	11	0	9		*		-	-	13
1951	14	2	14	-	18		*		19	*	13
1952	15	11	18	20	18		*		23	17	16
1953	16	13	14	*	8		*		12	*	14
1949-1953	14	10	15	12	13		12		19	8	14

*Base too small for computation of meaningful percentages.

There is no significant difference in the response as between disciplines (arts, science, commerce, education). The response of the men was somewhat better than that of the women, the female response rates being only 10 per cent of the universe, compared to 14 per cent for the males. It could be that, besides the other common nonresponse factors, girls after marriage retain less interest in academic pursuits and pasts, and have, therefore, not been so keen to send replies as the boys have been.

Table R 4 gives separate distribution of response from Lucknow, from outside Lucknow but within Uttar Pradesh, and from outside Uttar Pradesh. It is seen that while most respondents are in Uttar Pradesh, there is a fair number from outside the State. Replies from outside Uttar Pradesh came from as far as Travancore-Cochin, Mysore, West Bengal, and Nepal, which indicates the wide coverage of the investigation.

Geographic Distribution of Responses (R 4)

Year	Response from:						Total
	Lucknow		Outside Lucknow but within Uttar Pradesh		Outside Uttar Pradesh		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1949	16	33	20	42	12	25	100
1950	14	25	32	58	9	16	100
1951	24	29	42	51	16	20	100
1952	22	26	40	48	21	25	100
1953	20	26	42	55	14	18	100
1949-1953	96	28	176	51	72	21	100

The Human Side of It

An encouraging aspect of this investigation has been the enthusiasm and interest with which it was received by the subjects of inquiry. Many boys and girls have sent letters of appreciation commending the type of study which, to quote one respondent (a M. Sc. in Physics), "might show some way for the castigation of this infernal unemployment." Some letters almost overwhelmed us with gratitude for having undertaken, as a Master of Commerce from Travancore puts it, "the noble task of attempting to relieve the misery and plight of young men." Many respondents have been, in their utter despondency, quite sceptical of our efforts. A letter from a Simla woman, who is an M.A. in Political Science and LL.B., speaks for itself and merits reproduction.

This is my personal experience [says the young disillusioned lady] that unless you have a pull, you can never be successful in life. I have seen in my own 100 or so unsuccessful attempts and interviews that education or intelligence is not what counts, but some strong recommendation. Do you mean to say that by going to this trouble you will be able to help the unemployed? Definitely not, unless and until you change the entire atmosphere....

I think it is better if you stop admitting girls and boys unnecessarily, rather than create desperateness in them. My life would have been much happier without this M.A., LL.B. than it is with it. I had then no aspirations and ambitions and was ready to serve my husband and children and cook their food. Now as we are both educated, we can't dream of children. Why to bring another human being to this land of misery? [Italics ours.]

Can you change this state of affairs? Can you and your surveys help in providing anyone with a job in this province, or in any other province or anywhere....

It is cruel on your part to freshen in our mind the depth of degradation to which we have been driven due to no fault of ours.

Anyway, as an old student of this University I will try my best to help you and hope--without hope--that your probing may be some relief to a few of us unfortunate ones.

We have reproduced this letter without comment. But the numerous similar ones that we have received in the course of this survey do make a sad portrayal of young men and women whom society seems to have given a feeling of uselessness and hopelessness.

Many respondents have, however, given some useful suggestions regarding some other aspects, which could with profit be studied to get a still better picture of the employment-unemployment among the younger generation. It has been suggested by many that an inquiry into the

psychology of the unemployed and a study of change in their cherished values might help to focus public opinion on this problem. One double Master of Arts (Economics and Sociology) has suggested that we might investigate the following:

What has been the impact of unemployment on the attitude of the following towards you? (a) your father; (b) your mother; (c) your other relations; (d) your neighbors; (e) your friends, particularly those who have got good jobs.

How has unemployment affected your habits of: (a) tea taking; (b) smoking; (c) seeing pictures; (d) going to the Coffee House....

Such questions, it has been suggested, might reveal the potentiality of family, institutional and political disintegration.

We have at times felt rather apprehensive lest in making this reconnaissance we should have raised some unnecessarily high and unjustified hopes in the hearts of young men and women. While our purpose in undertaking this survey has mainly been to get a picture (a dreary picture, if the letters from the respondents are any indication) of the unemployed, the social scientist can only help in drawing attention to the social phenomena and suggesting ameliorative measures. The rest is up to the society and the government. One thing, however, must be pointed out: such mass unemployment among the cream of the nation does not afflict only the individuals involved; it is the entire society that is at stake.

Chapter III

RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY

While considering the results of this inquiry its nature and scope must be kept in mind. This is a preliminary, sample survey of the employment-unemployment position among those students of Lucknow University who have done their postgraduate reading in Arts, Science, Commerce, Law, and Education during the last five years. It thus cannot, nor is it meant to, throw light on the general unemployment situation in the country; nor does it deal with unemployment among the educated in general. To get significant data about the latter, a wider and more comprehensive survey all over the country is called for. In case the outcome of this inquiry is found fruitful, it is proposed to enlarge the sphere of investigation, covering other categories of students from Lucknow University, and also extending it to other universities of Uttar Pradesh, and later, other parts of India. It is felt such studies could provide useful baseline data regarding the unemployment situation in India, to which the Planning Commission proposes giving top priority in the Second Five Year Plan.

To insure ready reference and comparability with other employment-unemployment inquiries elsewhere, the data collected has been, as far as possible, classified and tabulated according to the procedure followed by the National Sample Survey in its report on the "Survey of Persons in the Live Register of the Delhi Employment Exchange."

The Function of the University

Table 1 gives the percentage distribution of respondents by their "most important purpose for joining the university." It is seen that half of them joined the university to get necessary qualifications for service, government or private; one quarter to get necessary background for an academic career. This vocational orientation is reflected among all categories of students. Except for arts students, some of whom went to the university for personal satisfaction, over 80 per cent of the students gave one of those two vocational reasons for joining the university. Among arts students, too, 69 per cent gave such reasons. As might be expected, an academic career was the goal of science students to a greater extent than others, and service was the goal of commerce students. It is interesting to note, however, that in the very small group of education masters, none indicated that they joined the university for an academic career, and most indicated that they joined to qualify

TABLE 1

Distribution of Students by Purpose for Joining University

Most important purpose for joining the University	By Field of Study				By Sex		By Class					TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	Education	M	F	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	
1. To get necessary preparation for getting gov't service.	44	50	68	88	52	25	48	44	58	49	48	50
2. To get necessary background and prepare for an academic career.	25	35	15	-	24	39	25	28	18	27	30	25
3. To get a background for help in dealing with other people.	7	3	4	-	6	4	6	8	6	6	4	6
4. To get a general background mainly for personal satisfaction.	13	4	2	12	8	29	6	10	11	10	11	10
5. Having been to the University makes one respectable in community.	-	-	4	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	1	1
6. No particular reason.	3	1	-	-	3	-	4	4	1	2	1	2
7. Miscellaneous	6	7	6	-	6	4	10	6	5	6	5	6
TOTAL	100 (216)	100 (72)	100 (47)	100 (8)	100 (319)	100 (28)	100 (52)	100 (50)	100 (83)	100 (82)	100 (80)	100 (347)

for getting service. They may have had as their goal positions in the ministry of education or other such careers related to education, but the academic goal as such did not appeal to them. Table 1 also indicates that an academic career has somewhat more appeal to women than to men, and likewise that a somewhat larger proportion of women joined the university for other than vocational reasons, although even among the women 64 per cent had such reasons. Table 1 also shows that there have been no marked changes during the five years in reasons for which students join the university. The pattern of replies is much the same at the end as at the beginning of the period.

Women students were asked some additional questions about their reasons for joining the university. These focussed on the conflict between career and marriage. Table 1.1 indicates that the majority of female students were also career oriented. All respondents from Science and Education groups had in mind "to get a job afterwards," while interest in job does not seem to be as high among girls of Arts group.

TABLE 1.1

Female Students' Reasons for Joining the University

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1. To try to get a good job.	38
2. Only to pass time until marriage.	17
3. Education gives chance of getting a better husband.	10
4. To combine marriage with a job.	17
5. Miscellaneous.	17
TOTAL	100 (29)

Table 2 gives percentage distribution of respondents by fulfilment or otherwise of their "most important purpose for joining the University." Only about one-third of Arts as against about half of the rest could say affirmatively that their "most important purpose for joining the university" had been fulfilled.

Those who received their degrees in 1951 or earlier were somewhat more satisfied than those who had been out of the university less than three years. The least satisfied class was the last. There are two possible interpretations for these data. It could be argued that conditions are getting even worse than they were five years ago, and perhaps that is so. But it by no means follows from the data. More plausible is the thesis that with the large amount of unemployment it takes too long

TABLE 2

Was the Most Important Purpose for Joining the University Fulfilled

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		<u>By Class</u>					TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	
Yes	36	47	49	41	39	46	53	38	40	32	41
No	46	37	28	42	30	35	37	42	36	51	41
Doubtful	19	16	23	17	30	19	10	20	24	16	18
TOTAL	100% (194)	100% (73)	100% (39)	100% (293)	100% (23)	100% (48)	100% (49)	100% (79)	100% (72)	100% (68)	100% (316)

a time to achieve one's university aspirations, even for those who finally do so. Four or five years after receiving a Master's degree half the students have finally achieved what they hoped the university would give them, but only one in three do so promptly upon graduation. This trend in satisfaction is closely related to trends in employment and earnings which we shall note below.

Employment-Unemployment Picture

Table 3, giving distribution of respondents by their employment status at the time of this inquiry, shows that over three-fourths of the respondents were employed in some office, factory, or similar establishment. About one-fifth of the respondents were unemployed and looking for a job.

A more detailed but less bright picture of the employment-unemployment situation is seen from a year-wise comparison and trend. It is rather sad to see that since the class of 1948 there is a steady rise in unemployment incidence.

Here again we find that it takes too long to find a job. One in three respondents from the 1953 class, who had already been finished with their university training for over a year at the time of the inquiry, did not have a job. For the 1951-1952 classes it was one in five, and for the 1949 and 1950 classes it was down to one in seven. Even if these findings do not represent a worsening trend (as indeed they may), they still indicate that several difficult years face the new university-trained person when he enters the job market.

This is particularly true for arts and commerce Masters. The majority of women respondents incidentally are not included in this table for they considered their status as neither employed nor unemployed. The replies concern those who are in careers. With these few qualifications the picture of insecurity in the post-university years applies to almost all groups and to the large majority of students. The bald unemployment figures do not present the whole picture. Many of those employed at the time of inquiry had much difficulty obtaining employment.

Table 4, showing the percentage distribution of respondents by the number of unsuccessful attempts they made to get a job before they got the first one, makes a revealing study. It is seen that about one-fourth of the respondents had to make over six unsuccessful attempts to get a job before they landed the first one. Once more we find the commerce respondents having a particularly difficult time, while the Science respondents had to make somewhat fewer frustrating efforts before they could secure their first job.

TABLE 3

Employment Status of Respondents

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		<u>By Class</u>					TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	
Employed.	75	81	72	76	70	86	84	77	79	64	76
Unemployed and looking for a job.	22	16	28	21	20	14	13	21	22	33	21
Unemployed, not looking for a job.	3	3	-	3	10	-	4	2	4	3	3
TOTAL	100% (203)	100% (68)	100% (46)	100% (317)	100% (10)	100% (51)	100% (56)	100% (82)	100% (73)	100% (66)	100% (327)

TABLE 4

Number of Unsuccessful Attempts Made to Get a Job before Getting the First One

Number of Attempts	By Field of Study			By Sex		By Class					TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	
0	35	38	24	34	58	44	49	27	34	27	35
1 - 3	27	33	18	28	25	35	32	25	29	15	27
4 - 6	11	19	26	16	-	9	11	16	17	19	15
More than 6	27	10	32	24	17	12	8	31	20	40	24
TOTAL	100% (139)	100% (48)	100% (34)	100% (217)	100% (12)	100% (34)	100% (37)	100% (51)	100% (59)	100% (48)	100% (229)

Detailed, year-wise breakdown of data of respondents by their unsuccessful attempts to get a job makes gloomy reading, particularly as to the position of Commerce and Arts students. Year by year the task of locating a post seems to become harder. Or perhaps again it is an artifact of the situation which creates the impression of a trend. Do respondents remember five years later the attempts they made to get their first positions. Perhaps the curve of frequency of unsuccessful attempts at obtaining a post is just a forgetting curve. Unfortunately, we cannot be sure of the trends except by repeating the study after an interval of time. However, the repeated suggestions in the data of a worsening of the employment situation cannot be disregarded. They are not conclusive, but they are disturbing.

Table 5 shows percentage distribution of respondents by the time lapse, after leaving the University, before their getting the first job. About one-fourth of Arts and half of Commerce group respondents got their first job more than one year after leaving the University. The better placed in this respect are the Science and Education groups, respondents from which groups often succeeded in getting their first job within three months of their leaving the University.

TABLE 5

Time Lapse before Getting the First Job

Time Lapse	By Field of Study			By Sex		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Within 3 mos.	49	59	10	46	59	47
3 - 6 months	14	17	20	16	18	17
6 mos. - 1 year	13	15	20	15	5	14
Over 1 year	23	8	50	23	18	22
TOTAL	100% (138)	100% (59)	100% (30)	100% (214)	100% (22)	100% (236)

TABLE 5.1

Delay Between Leaving the University and Applying for a Job

One Week	15%
One Month	30
Two Months	20
Three Months	13
Six Months	12
Nine Months	3
One Year	1
Over a Year	6
Never Applied	0
	100%

TABLE 5.2

Time Lapse in Getting First Job

	<u>After leaving University</u>	<u>After first applying</u>
Within 3 months	47%	66%
3 - 6 months	17	13
6 mos. - 1 year	14	6
Over 1 year	22	14
	100%	100%

Of course, delay in obtaining the first position could be due to delay in looking. That this is not a major reason, however, is shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. Most students applied within three months and almost all within six.

Table 6 shows that the first job after leaving the University of two-thirds of all respondents was temporary in nature. At the same time some of these temporary jobs have run on for some time. Even in that group who have been out of the University for five years, half are still in the first job they obtained. Naturally, those out only one year are mostly in their original jobs, yet even among them two-fifths have already lost their first job and are either in another or are unemployed. The resulting uncertainty, caused by the temporary nature of job and an uncertain tomorrow, is hardly conducive to healthy mental development of the young people and is certainly reflected in deterioration in the quality of their work.

TABLE 6

Permanency of First Job

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	TOTAL
Permanent	27	46	35	35	10	33
Temporary	73	54	65	65	90	67
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(145)	(63)	(34)	(231)	(20)	(251)

TABLE 6A

Is Respondent Still Sticking to First Job

By Class	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	TOTAL
Yes	49	56	67	62	61	60
No	51	44	33	38	39	40
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(31)	(45)	(48)	(66)	(49)	(239)

Let us summarize the results so far for an average respondent. He got his Master's degree in Arts. He then made three unsuccessful attempts at locating a position. On the fourth try, after three months of unemployment, he succeeded in finding one. That, however, was a temporary job and he soon found himself unemployed again. By now, some three years out of the university, he probably has a position again; the chances are 3 to 1 that he does.

That average respondent, however, is an imaginary one. To the unlucky respondent who is in the unemployed one-fourth, the odds are no great comfort. And the notable thing about the unemployed is that those who are unemployed tend to stay unemployed. The distribution of good and bad fortune is very uneven. Those who find jobs early tend to stay unemployed, while those who are unemployed stay so for long periods.

Table 7 gives percentage distribution of the respondents in the "unemployed and looking for a job" category by the time period since they have been unemployed. It is seen that half of the Arts and Commerce group respondents had been looking for more than two years, while the overwhelming majority of all unemployed respondents had been unemployed for a year or more.

TABLE 7

Duration of Unemployment for Those Now Unemployed

How long looking for a job	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
About 3 months	5	13	10	8	-	7
About 6 months	2	13	-	5	-	4
About a year	25	38	20	23	50	27
About 1 1/2 years	18	19	20	16	30	18
More than 2 years	50	19	50	48	20	44
TOTAL	100% (44)	100% (16)	100% (10)	100% (61)	100% (10)	100% (71)

Table 8 gives distribution of respondents by their means of subsistence during the period of unemployment. It shows that a large majority of them have been depending upon their families for support rather than borrowing.

TABLE 8

Means of Subsistence of the Unemployed

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Drawing on past savings	0	0
Depending on family for support	74	87
Borrowing	11	13
TOTAL	85	100%

The Financial Picture

Along with the picture of unemployment goes a picture of financial difficulties. A substantial minority among the employed were not self-supporting. To one respondent in five who was unemployed should perhaps be added the one in four who was earning, but not self-supporting. If we do that, we find that only a little over half the respondents had achieved financial independence. Table 9 gives an analysis of the earning status of employed respondents.

TABLE 9

Distribution of Employed Respondents by Their Earning Status

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Class</u>					<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>Arts</u>	<u>Science</u>	<u>Commerce</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1953</u>	
Earning but not self-supporting	38	20	20	16	29	42	31	35	31
Self-supporting	31	34	30	36	33	25	31	33	31
Supporting family also	31	46	50	48	38	34	38	33	38
TOTAL	100% (145)	100% (54)	100% (30)	100% (42)	100% (42)	100% (53)	100% (55)	100% (43)	100%

We find once again that the Arts group is in a worse situation than the Science group, and that the more recent Masters are in a worse situation than those who left the University five years ago. The reason why many respondents are not self-supporting and why it takes time to become that is, of course, the low level of salaries, which, for those just leaving the University, are not up to expectations.

Table 10 shows the minimum income per month expected by students after completing their studies and leaving the University. It indicates that about 56 per cent to 60 per cent of male respondents are in "over

Rs.200" range, while about 35 to 40 per cent expected a monthly income of Rs.100-200. The position is, however, different for girls who have shown lower income-expectation levels. Two-thirds of the girls expected an income of Rs.100-200 per month, and only one-third over Rs.200 per month. It may be noted that a very small proportion of respondents expected an income of less than Rs.100 per month.

TABLE 10

Minimum Income Expected after Completing Studies

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Up to Rs.50/-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Between Rs.50 and Rs.100/-	4	2	2	4	-	4
Between Rs.100 and Rs.200/-	39	42	38	38	67	39
Over Rs.200/-	57	57	59	58	33	57
TOTAL	100% (199)	100% (65)	100% (45)	100% (292)	100% (24)	100% (316)

TABLE 11

Starting Salary from the First Job

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Rs.50 and below	1	2	-	1	-	1
Rs.50-100	18	3	32	17	10	16
Rs.100-200	57	67	62	60	65	60
Rs.200 and over	24	28	6	23	25	23
TOTAL	100% (145)	100% (63)	100% (34)	100% (230)	100% (20)	100% (290)

Table 11 shows how far the respondents succeeded in getting a job with the minimum income expected in their first job after completing their studies. It indicates that less than one-fourth of respondents could get their first job, after leaving the University, with a starting salary of Rs.200 and over (\$42), in contrast to more than half who expected that. Science students had the best opportunities, only one in twenty of them having to accept less than Rs.100 (\$21) per month. Commerce students, who had income expectations as high if not higher than others, actually started at the lower salaries, very few of them receiving over Rs.200 and many receiving under Rs.100.

With the passage of time, more, but by no means all, respondents achieved jobs providing them with the income they had originally expected. Table 12 shows how far respondents had succeeded, at the time they filled out the questionnaires, in getting a job with the minimum income expected after completing their studies. Those who had been out of the university only one year by 62 to 38 said that they had not achieved their expected level of earnings; those who had been out five years said by 62 to 38 that they had.

The question arises whether this shift toward realization of expectations is due to pay raises received by the employed or by the gradual absorption of the unemployed. A close examination of the figures suggests that the crucial factor is that of employment or unemployment.

TABLE 12

Success in Ultimately Securing a Job
With Minimum Income Expected After Completing Studies

	By Field of Study			By Sex		By Class					TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	
Yes	47	65	41	52	46	62	62	43	57	38	51
No	53	35	59	48	54	38	38	57	43	62	49
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(195)	(69)	(44)	(292)	(24)	(45)	(50)	(76)	(76)	(69)	(316)

To make this clear we may at this point bring together several of the different indicators we have been using. They make a consistent picture. We have just noted in Table 12 that our respondents divide just about half and half as to whether they are earning the minimum income which they sought. The five out of ten who have not consist partly of the unemployed, i.e., roughly two out of ten. The remaining not quite three out of ten who are employed, but at income levels below their aspirations, are largely the persons who on two somewhat differently phrased questions indicated that though earning they were partly dependent. In short, the minimum income expected seems to be no more than enough to achieve self-support. Only half achieve that; the other half remain dependent on their families either fully or partly.

That is the general picture. How has it changed over the five classes studied? We have noted that unemployment rose from one in seven of the 1949 class to one in three in the 1953 class. Those failing to achieve minimum expected income rose from 38 to 62 per cent of the total. Subtracting the unemployed from those without expected income year by year, we find that the residue is a fairly



constant number, nearly three out of ten. This is necessarily a rough estimate because there is some variation in the individuals who answered the different questions. However, it seems fair to say that of the classes of 1949 and 1950 just about one-fourth, though employed, are earning less than their minimum expected income. Of the classes of 1951, 1952, 1953 the figure is just about one-third. In short, pay raises did help lift some one in twelve respondents to minimum expected levels during their first few years out of the University, but a larger number (one in five) finally secured employment, while one in seven still remained unemployed.

Of the 1953 students, one-third were unemployed, another third working but not earning enough to meet their needs, and only one-third satisfactorily placed. Of the 1949 respondents, one-seventh were unemployed, another quarter not earning enough to meet their needs, and two-thirds satisfactorily placed. Even after five years, one-third had not located an adequate job.

One result, at first glance, is inconsistent with this general picture. It will be recalled that the number earning but not self-supporting was 35 per cent among the 1953 respondents but only 16 per cent among the 1949 ones. This is a much sharper trend than that noted (from one-third to one-quarter) in those who are working but at incomes not meeting their expectations. What apparently is happening is that over five years some respondents, even though they do not reach an income adequate for self-sufficiency, find themselves of necessity on their own either because parents have died or for other reasons. In the younger group almost all who earn inadequate salaries are dependents; in the older group a few are no longer so. This assumption would account for the one apparent discrepancy in the picture.

The general picture is then one in which (whether because of a worsening trend or because getting well located takes much too long) the more recent students face a particularly dire situation with a long wait until they attain independence. Table 13 shows how long the wait is for that fortunate half of the respondents who have achieved their minimum expected income.

It shows once again the relatively good position of science students and the poor position of commerce students. It also shows again that those who do achieve their goal most often do so promptly. It seems to show a trend, but that is an artifact. The small number of recent Masters who have achieved their minimum expected income after more than a year is only due to the fact that they have not been out for as long a time as the others. More will achieve that goal with time, and the apparent trend--in this case of improvement--will disappear. Despite their low income expectation level it remains difficult for the student to achieve even the livelihood he aspires to.

TABLE 13

Time Taken in Getting a Job at Minimum Income Expected after Completion of Studies

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		<u>By Class</u>					TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	
Up to 3 months	34	43	40	38	38	37	30	36	53	23	38
3 to 6 months	25	20	7	23	13	16	26	12	17	45	22
6 to 12 months	10	9	7	9	13	11	13	4	6	14	9
Over a Year	31	29	47	31	38	37	30	48	25	18	31
TOTAL	100% (71)	100% (35)	100% (15)	100% (117)	100% (8)	100% (19)	100% (23)	100% (25)	100% (36)	100% (22)	100% (125)

Table 14 shows percentage distribution of respondents by their opinion regarding factor(s) responsible for difficulty in getting a job. More than half of the students hold "government" and "society" responsible for their finding it difficult to get a job, and only a small proportion of them attribute this to "bad luck." The point is significant, for young men and women holding "government and society" responsible for their miserable lot cannot be expected to contribute much to building the nation. They might develop a permanent grudge against the government and society that gives them a feeling of uselessness--hardly the type of feeling required for developing a good citizenry.

TABLE 14

Factors Held Responsible for Difficulty in Getting Jobs

	By Field of Study			By Sex		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Lack of Proper and Systematic Training	25	29	28	27	21	26
The Government	49	43	47	49	38	48
The Society	14	9	17	14	17	13
Bad Luck	11	20	9	11	25	12
TOTAL	100% (148)	100% (35)	100% (47)	100% (213)	100% (24)	100% (237)

TABLE 15

Qualities Respondents Think Will Help a Young Person Get a Job

		Brains	Hard Work	Knowing the right people	Pleasing personality	Good Luck	Being a good politician	TOTAL
Brains	x	19	9	8	3	1		40%
Hard Work	19	x	10	7	8	4		48%
Knowing the right people	9	10	x	8	10	9		46%
Pleasing personality	8	7	8	x	1	2		26%
Good Luck	3	8	10	1	x	1		23%
Being a Good politician	1	4	9	2	1	x		17%
TOTAL	40%	48%	46%	26%	23%	17%		200%*

*306 respondents; each checked two qualities.

Table 15, giving percentage distribution of respondents by qualities they think help a young person to get a job, shows the general premium put upon "hard work and brains." While other qualities--"knowing the right people" and "having a pleasant personality" coupled with "hard work"--have received a high scoring, others like "good luck" and "being a good politician" are found rather low in the estimation of respondents.

Each respondent was asked to indicate which two of the listed qualities help a young person to obtain a job. The way the choices grouped themselves is quite revealing. In Table 15 the qualities are ordered along a rough kind of scale. The qualities listed first, brains and hard work, represent an idealizing view of the world. The qualities listed last represent a disenchanted view.

About one-fifth of the respondents (19 per cent) gave the most idealized answer, i.e., that brains and hard work are the qualities which would help most in obtaining a job. To an indeterminate extent they may have been responding to the pressure of cultural values and giving the answer they thought was proper or approved or wanted.

At the other extreme, that of complete disenchantment, would be a pair of answers such as good luck and being a good politician. Cultural constraints are sufficiently strong so that few respondents picked a pair among the three last options. Only 4 per cent altogether chose both qualities from among pleasing personality, good luck, and being a good politician. (Note the small numbers in the lower right-hand quadrant in Table 15.)

A more usual response was to balance a disenchanted response with an idealizing one. One-third of the respondents linked either brains or hard work together with pleasing personality, good luck, or being a good politician. However, such a linkage requires that the two traits while balancing or offsetting each other be not too extremely opposed. Thus if we had included in the list "being a good man" and "being a bad man" few respondents would have chosen them both. A glance at the upper right-hand or lower left-hand corners of Table 15 will reveal that brains and good luck, brains and being a good politician, or hard work and being a good politician were too opposed to be often chosen. Hard work and good luck, however, were a popular balance of traits.

A unique significance was attached to knowing the right people. It was mentioned by 46 per cent of the respondents in total, almost as many as mentioned hard work even though it does not have the positive cultural evaluation of the latter. Even more significant is that knowing the right people was included in the replies of respondents regardless of the other trait they chose. It was sufficiently central in their thinking to be linked with any trait at any position on the evaluative scale. Whether the respondent thought success in getting a job arose from brains or from good luck, he might still consider knowing the right people an essential component.

In summary, the respondents fell into the following groups:

Idealizing the situation	one-fifth (about)
Linking an idealizing trait with knowing the right people	one-fifth
Balancing a disenchanted with an idealizing trait	one-third
Linking knowing the right people with a disenchanted trait	one-fourth

The above description applies fairly uniformly among the different types of students in the study. The only noteworthy difference is that commerce students are somewhat more disenchanted than the rest.

One of the questions enables us to compare these general views about what helps a young man get a job with the actual experience of the respondents. While 46 per cent of the respondents cited knowing the right people as important in getting a job, only 34 per cent conceded that they got their first job with someone's help rather than by themselves. Those who gave disenchanted answers as to the general pattern of getting jobs as often as not admitted being helped. Those who idealized the situation claimed to have gotten the jobs by themselves.

One problem associated with that of unemployment is the tendency of the students to prefer certain kinds of jobs. Naturally they wish secure jobs. Unemployment does not encourage risk taking. Some jobs such as village teaching may be so unrewarded as to go unfilled even in the presence of unemployment.

Employment, rather than self-employment or entrepreneurship, is the goal of almost all students.

Table 16 gives the percentage distribution of respondents by their vocational inclination at the time of joining the University. It is seen that "to seek employment" finds first and a heavy favor with students. Taking the total sample, three-quarters have "to seek employment" in mind after completing their studies. Only about 10 per cent of the respondents in all the groups had thought of joining the business of their families or any other after completing studies.

The proportion of respondents planning "to seek employment" after completing studies has, if anything, been increasing year by year, at the expense of either joining the family business or starting some independent practice. Commerce students are as little inclined to independent entrepreneurship as any of the others.

The prospects of obtaining the kind of work desired vary greatly with the nature of the student's aspirations. As far as employment versus

TABLE 16

Vocational Preference at the Time of Joining the University

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		<u>By Class</u>					TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	
Family Business	3	5	4	4	-	9	2	1	4	4	4
Some Independent Business	6	5	7	6	6	9	4	6	3	4	6
Some Independent Practice (law, medicine)	19	-	13	15	6	19	17	15	14	13	15
Employment	71	90	76	75	88	64	77	77	78	79	76
TOTAL	100% (201)	100% (60)	100% (45)	100% (300)	100% (17)	100% (47)	100% (53)	100% (78)	100% (69)	100% (70)	100% (317)

independent entrepreneurship goes, the distribution of achieved careers corresponds fairly closely with the distribution of preferred careers. Only 5 per cent of earning respondents were employers at the time of the study. Another 17 per cent worked on their own account and 78 per cent of the earners were employees.

However, if we consider a breakdown of student aspirations by field of activity rather than by employer-employee status we find a rather different picture. About three-quarters of those who sought service in a firm and a substantial majority of those who sought service in government or sought a profession of their own failed to achieve it. Only those who aspired to teaching, business, or farming were more likely than not to do what they hoped to do. (See Table 17.) Government service was the goal that most aspired to; teaching was a poor second, and only a scattered few wanted to enter business or farming.

TABLE 17

Kind of Work Desired After Leaving University and Success in Obtaining It						
Kind of Work	% Obtaining Such Work	% Not Obtaining Such Work	% Not Answering about Success	Total	No. Desiring Such Work	% Desiring Such Work
Government	32	58	10	100	146	44
Teaching	47	36	17	100	83	25
Own Profession	31	50	19	100	32	10
Service in a Firm	18	71	12	100	17	5
Business	47	42	11	100	19	6
Farm	50	33	17	100	6	2
Other	43	43	14	100	28	8
TOTAL					331	100%

One of the great problems is to persuade university-educated persons to accept employment in rural areas.

Table 18 gives distribution of respondents by their regional background. It is seen that almost two-thirds of all males and almost all female respondents came from urban areas.

An analysis of the response of respondents from rural areas shows the disinclination of even this group to return to the rural area after completion of their studies. Only about one-third would have been willing to return.

In the questionnaire we asked those who were unwilling to return to rural areas to select among several possible reasons why they felt that way. Table 20 indicates that the usual reason given was lack of proper employment opportunities there. Two out of three gave that as their

reason. In contrast, only one-fifth cited inadequate social amenities in the villages, and only one in ten that city life is more attractive. Other reasons such as the fact that home town life is very restricted were hardly ever mentioned. Once again we find that the employment situation was the dominant factor in the attitudes of the students.

TABLE 18

Distribution of Respondents by Regional Background

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Rural	33	27	30	39	8	35
Urban	67	73	70	61	92	65
TOTAL	100% (205)	100% (67)	100% (43)	100% (299)	100% (28)	100% (327)

TABLE 19

Attitude of Rural Respondents toward Returning to Rural Areas
at Time of Finishing Education

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	
Would have been willing to return	35	38	31	35
Would not	65	63	69	65
TOTAL	100% (76)	100% (16)	100% (13)	100% (110)

TABLE 20

Reasons for Unwillingness to Return to Rural Areas

	Number	Per Cent
Lack of proper employment there.	53	64
Inadequate social amenities there.	18	22
You like city life.	8	10
Home town life is very restricted.	2	2
Other reasons.	2	2
TOTAL	83	100%

Perhaps the employment situation only reinforces an unwillingness, which exists also for other reasons, to live in the villages. To ascertain how far this was so we asked a second question about returning to rural areas. We asked a question based on the hypothetical assumption that the respondent were now given a job in his home village similar to

the one he was now holding. We asked whether in that case he would now be willing to return and take it. On that assumption, 61 per cent were willing to go back to a rural life. In short, roughly one-third would not return in any case, and these correspond roughly to the group who would not go back because of the inadequacies of rural life. One-third would not in fact have been willing to go back because there were no suitable jobs for them in the village, but said they would now be willing did such jobs exist. A final third would in principle have been willing to return at the end of their education, though in light of the scarcity of jobs in the villages few of them did so.

The students who were given the hypothetical question about their willingness or unwillingness to return given a job equal to their present one were asked their reasons against returning even under those conditions. Once more it was not village life but the economic limitations of working in a village which were the reasons given for not returning. At the time of this inquiry, about two-thirds of the students (although mostly showing a willing and affirmative attitude to go to the villages to work on a job similar to their present ones), were disinclined mainly because, as Table 21 shows, they felt there are "more opportunities and chances of progress in the city."

TABLE 21

Reasons for not Accepting a Job in Their Village
Even Were It Similar to Their Present One

	Number	Per Cent
Rural life is backward.	9	13
You cannot lead as free a life as in the city.	2	3
City life is more attractive.	6	9
You have opportunities and chances of progress in the city.	43	63
Any other reason.	8	12
TOTAL	68	100%

Table 21 may also be construed as showing some marked changes in students' attitudes towards working in the villages after completing their education. The present attitude as regards working in villages is sharply changed from what it was at the time of completing their studies.

The above answers are those of students of rural origin concerning their willingness to return to rural areas. We asked all students about willingness to accept various types of jobs of national importance some of which are rural. Table 22 gives the percentage distribution of respondents by their willingness or otherwise to work as rural extension workers. It also shows how many would be willing to be a village teacher.

TABLE 22

Willingness to Work as a Rural Extension Worker,
Village Teacher, or Manual Worker

	By Field of Study			By Sex		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Rural Extension Worker						
No	44	64	33	48	56	48
Yes, if within own state	25	21	41	27	17	26
Yes, even in another state	<u>31</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>26</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(151)	(39)	(30)	(208)	(18)	(226)
Village Teacher						
No	66	69	54	65	68	65
Yes, if within own state	13	21	15	15	19	16
Yes, even in another state	<u>21</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>19</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(134)	(39)	(26)	(190)	(16)	(206)
Manual Worker						
No	64	56	46	58	100	60
Doubtful	8	12	20	11	-	10
Yes	<u>28</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>29</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(144)	(41)	(35)	(210)	(14)	(224)

Only about half show any inclination towards rural extension work. Even more negative is the attitude towards working as a village teacher. Only one-third would be willing.

In each case the science students, whom we noted above have the least difficulty locating jobs in their field, are least willing to accept rural jobs. The commerce students, whose job problem is most difficult, are more willing.

Manual labor is no more acceptable even though it does not imply leaving urban areas. Under 30 per cent of respondents are willing to do manual work, a large proportion being positively averse to it. In this instance, however, the scientists who are perhaps more prone to work with their hands in the laboratory are not more or, if anything, less averse to accepting such a job than the less well-placed students. Only women differ markedly from the average. None of them were willing to do manual work. Most men, but not all, felt the same way.

The fact that students were not willing to take rural or manual jobs was certainly not the cause of their being unemployed. As the respondents themselves noted, such jobs too were scarce. Their unwillingness is important rather as an indication of student attitudes and expectations. For the same reason it is important to note whether students are willing to leave their native state in order to find employment.

TABLE 23

Attitude towards Working in Another State

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Willing	69	63	63	66	54	65
Doubtful	11	19	9	12	23	13
Not Willing	20	18	28	22	23	22
TOTAL	100% (206)	100% (67)	100% (46)	100% (306)	100% (26)	100% (332)

Table 23, showing distribution of respondents by their attitude towards working in another state, indicates that a large proportion (two-thirds) are willing to work in another state.

Among those respondents not willing to, or being doubtful about, working in another state, a very large number (two-thirds again) gave "family circumstances" as their reason for not being able to accept work in another state, and not any "personal lack of inclination" to go outside the state. (See Table 24.)

TABLE 24

Reasons for Being Unwilling to Work in Another State

	Number	Per Cent
Personal Lack of Inclination to go outside the State	24	25
Family Circumstances	63	65
Language Difficulty	10	10
TOTAL	97	100

The reason least often cited was language difficulties. It was not the difficulties of living in a strange part of the country which seemed to block employment mobility.

These students who were mostly unwilling to accept a low-status (rural or manual) job were mostly willing to travel for a job. They were also more than willing to take additional training to prepare for a

high-status job. Table 25 shows that more than four out of five respondents were willing to undergo some training for a job.

TABLE 25

Willingness of Respondents to Undergo Some Training for a Job

	By Field of Study			By Sex		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Yes	81	85	92	83	76	83
No	19	15	8	17	24	17
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(185)	(59)	(38)	(269)	(21)	(290)

Table 26 shows that administrative, supervisory training has been rated highest by most of the students. Teacher training and social service training have also received high response. Manual occupations rate very low except among the science students, about 30 per cent of whom would like training such as that for technician, electrician, telegraph or wireless operator, or engineer. Among arts students only about 5 per cent would now like training for such manually productive jobs. They prefer training for white collar work.

TABLE 26

Type of Training Desired

	By Field of Study			By Sex		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Artisan	-	-	-	-	-	0
Arts, Crafts	*	1	3	1	5	1
Draftsman, Overseer	-	-	-	-	-	0
Technician	2	11	2	4	-	4
Electrician	*	4	-	1	-	1
Telegraph, Wireless	-	10	-	2	-	2
Engineer	2	14	2	5	5	5
Army, Air Force	11	15	-	10	5	10
Teachers Training	14	8	8	12	20	12
Social Service	26	4	22	20	30	21
Accountancy	4	-	20	6	-	6
Administrative						
Supervisory	30	17	33	27	25	27
Misc.	11	14	10	11	10	11
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than .005, Table presents per cent of choices.

Among all groups of students training for administrative, supervisory posts are most desired, and except among science students about one-third choose it. Social service (except among science students) is the next most appealing course of training. This expresses the social beliefs of many students. Among arts students the third choice, and a poor third, is teacher training. Among commerce students the third choice (reflecting their vocation) is accountancy. These three choices in each case account for three-quarters of the choices.

One device open to students seeking employment is to register at the Employment Exchange. Nonetheless, many unemployed students do not do so.

Table 27 shows the distribution of respondents by their attitude towards the Employment Exchange. Of the total sample examined, female respondents showed an almost uniform aversion against getting registered with the Employment Exchange. Among the professional groups, commerce students make most use of the Employment Exchange.

TABLE 27

Registration at the Employment Exchange

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			<u>By Sex</u>		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Yes	41	34	56	45	4	44
No	59	66	34	55	96	56
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(216)	(67)	(44)	(315)	(25)	(340)

Of the respondents getting registered with the Employment Exchange, only a small proportion succeeded in getting a job through this agency. Commerce students, among whom unemployment was most severe, registered most often but got jobs least often. Science students, who were most in demand, registered least often but were placed most often. (See Table 28)

TABLE 28

Result of Registering With the Employment Exchange

	<u>By Field of Study</u>			
	Arts	Science	Commerce	TOTAL
Helped in getting a job	18	25	14	19
Did not help	82	75	86	81
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(89)	(24)	(28)	(144)

Table 29 shows distribution of respondents by their reason for not registering with the Employment Exchange. An overwhelming proportion of respondents refrained from using the agency of the Employment Exchange, either thinking outright that "it is useless" or that it could not get them the type of job they were looking for. Only a negligible proportion did not go to the Employment Exchange, thinking it to be "humiliating and insulting."

TABLE 29

Reasons for not Registering With the Employment Exchange

	By Field of Study			By Sex		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
It is useless.	51	34	36	41	73	45
It could not get me the job I was looking for.	45	66	64	56	23	52
It is humiliating to go to the Employment Exchange.	4	-	-	3	5	3
TOTAL	100% (110)	100% (35)	100% (11)	100% (139)	100% (22)	100% (161)

We have now examined both the employment situation and the resulting attitudes of the students towards it--whom they hold responsible, what they would be willing to do, and what they would not be willing to do in order to get a job. In closing, let us look at the impact of the employment situation on the attitudes of the students towards their university education.

TABLE 30

Respondents' Family Educational Background

	By Field of Study			By Sex		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Father university educated.	27	39	11	26	48	27
Father not university educated.	73	61	89	74	52	73
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Brother university educated.	59	76	49	58	82	61
Brother not university educated.	41	24	51	42	18	39
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 30, showing percentage distribution of respondents by their families' educational background, gives an indication of the changing attitudes and trend towards higher (University) education. About three-fourths of the respondents were from families where the family-head had not had a university education. This shows the increase, over years, in the number of the members of the family who are now coming to the University for education.

The science students come from better educated families. Both their fathers and their brothers are more likely to have a university education. Commerce students come from families with the fewest educated members. Only one-ninth of their fathers had had a university education. Girls who come to the University usually come from families where their brothers are university educated and often their fathers are too. This table shows the growing value attached to a university education.

Most of the respondents, despite the difficulties they have had with unemployment, would like their sons to do postgraduate studies.

TABLE 31

Attitudes Towards Postgraduate Education for Their Sons
in the Light of Experience of Higher Education Gained So Far

	By Field of Study			By Sex		TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	
Desire that their sons should do postgraduate reading:						
Yes	72	75	63	72	72	72
No	28	25	37	28	28	28
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(184)	(63)	(43)	(282)	(18)	(300)
Desire that their sons should do postgraduate reading in the same subject:						
Same	16	30	10	18	13	18
Other	84	70	90	82	87	82
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(164)	(49)	(31)	(237)	(15)	(252)

It is seen that while almost three-fourths of the respondents would like their sons to do postgraduate reading, a very large proportion of them--percentage ranging from 70 to 90 per cent--would not like them to do it in the same subject in which they themselves have done it. (See Table 31.) About 78 per cent of the respondents would like their sons either to go in for some technical training or to join the Medical College.

This massive disillusionment with their own field of study exists even among the scientists, although least so. As many as 30 per cent of them would like their sons to follow in their footsteps. We might expect a much higher proportion in view of the relatively good employment history of the scientists and in view of the general desire to see sons go in for technical training. Yet the scientists too are disillusioned. When we turn to the commerce students we find even more disillusionment. One-third do not want their sons to do postgraduate studies at all, and only one in ten wants his sons to follow in his footsteps.

Distribution of respondents by their evaluation of subjects which, in their opinion, might have helped them better to get a job, shows that as many as 50 per cent think English might have done so, about 19 per cent favor economics, and about 5.9 per cent think Hindi might have served better. This comparative evaluation and ranking of English and Hindi is certainly a significant indicator both of the career orientation of the students and of problems involved in the increasing use of the national language.

Indeed, the students were dissatisfied with many aspects of their educational experience. Yet, viewing it globally, most did not feel it a waste of time. Those whose employment problems have been greatest, however, are most apt to doubt the worth of their education. Commerce students are more dubious than science students. (Four out of ten of the former as against two out of ten of the latter sometimes or generally feel their education a waste of time.) Classifying students by employment status, we find the employed generally satisfied but the unemployed growing increasingly bitter with the passage of time. Table 32 shows that after two years of joblessness there were less than 30 per cent who did not admit that they sometimes felt their education to have been a waste of their time.

The university educated whom we have studied have proved to be patient beyond normal expectations, yet their patience has its limits. With time, if unemployment persists, bitterness and enervation mount, with consequences that need hardly be labored.

TABLE 32

Does Respondent Think that University Education Was a Waste of Time

	By Field of Study			By Sex		By Employment Status				TOTAL
	Arts	Science	Commerce	M	F	Em- ployed	Unem- ployed but not looking for job	Unem- ployed for less than 2 years	Unem- ployed for 2 years or more	
Yes	12	3	7	9	8	7	11	15	29	9
Sometimes	26	19	36	27	23	23	22	38	43	27
Rarely	9	6	5	7	8	6	22	8	-	7
Never	53	72	52	56	62	63	44	40	29	57
TOTAL	100% (211)	100% (71)	100% (44)	100% (312)	100% (26)	100% (248) ⁿ	100% (9)	100% (40)	100% (28)	100% (338)

